

NEW SERIES

Price 75cts.

VOL. XIV No. 2

VERMONT *Quarterly*



WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN VERMONT

JOHN STRONG: PIONEER

VERMONT BOOKSHELF

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April, 1946

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Quarterly



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EARLE WILLIAMS NEWTON, *Editor*; MONTPELIER

Printed and made in the United States of America by E. L. Hildreth & Company, Inc.

Publication Office: 8 Harmony Place, Brattleboro, Vermont

\$3.00 A Year

Published Quarterly

75 Cents A Copy

Subscription included in annual membership dues: \$2.00

GENERAL OFFICE: MONTPELIER, VT.

Entered as second-class matter December 23, 1937, at the post office at Brattleboro, Vermont, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Vermont Quarterly

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VOL. XIV No. 2

THE 1870 CAMPAIGN FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN VERMONT

By T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT

THE issue of women's rights in Vermont was eclipsed by the antislavery struggle until after the Civil War. The Vermont Antislavery Society had admitted women to its membership in 1840 and avoided the factional fights over this issue which rent the movement elsewhere.¹ Rowland T. Robinson expressed the feelings of the radicals when he said that by substituting "woman" for "Negro" in the arguments against slavery it was obvious that the rights of one group were due the other also.² Robinson came by his sentiments through his Quaker background, for among Friends women participate in both business and ministry.

Mrs. C. I. H. Nichols was the most vocal woman suffrage advocate of the early fifties. She edited the *Windham County Democrat* at Brattleboro from 1848 to 1853, lectured and attended women's rights conventions. She was equally concerned with temperance, public education and the Free Soil program. The cause of women's rights lost an able spokesman when the Nichols family, putting freedom in the territories first, migrated to Kansas late in 1854.³

1. David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850* (New York, 1939), pp. 179-180.

2. Robinson to the Brandon *Vermont Telegraph*, quoted in the New York *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 9, 1840.

3. East Bennington *Gazette*, July 19, 1848; *Windham County Democrat*, June 22, 1853; Boston *Liberator*, February 24, May 5, 1854; Brattleboro *Eagle*, February 24, March 10, December 29, 1854.

The serious concerns of Mrs. Nichols never received the attention given the popular symbol of the women's rights movement, their mannish dress. In the 1851 Fourth of July parade at Montpelier were the usual bevy of young misses, one for each state in the Union, "dressed in the Bloomer style" and followed by ladies in bloomers with their escorts. "Pretty . . . beautiful dress for young ladies" commented the bystanders, cheering the procession.⁴ An old maid's opinion, however, was less flattering. Bloomers are convenient for feminists who want "to chop wood, plough land, and dig ditches; but the true American woman in her appropriate sphere, need not deck herself in such ill-looking, inconvenient dress. . . ."⁵

Whether women should chop wood or plow land did not concern the *Middlebury Register*, but it saw no objection to woman's entering almost any occupation except the learned professions. "Instead of *getting out* of her sphere" by trying to earn an honest living "she has long been *kept out* of it. . . ."⁶

In 1854 Lucy Stone spoke in Randolph on the legal woes of women. She covered most of the points which she and her team of suffragettes debated so exhaustively in 1870. Her peculiar dress of close-fitting pants and frock coat and her "large, round, red face" caused as much comment as all her arguments. She advised women not to pay taxes until they could vote. A handsome collection was taken.⁷

The radical wing of the Republican Party raised one of its leaders, Ryland Fletcher, to the governorship in 1856-57. One might think that this former Know Nothing could have led his faction to initiate reforms in favor of women's rights; but the underlying conservatism of the Republicans on most issues except slavery prevented any important changes. A Free Convention was held at Rutland in June, 1858, under the auspices of a committee including John Langdon and Newman Weeks of Rutland. It drew up a petition to the Legislature for woman suffrage⁸ and again the question was ignored.⁹ The statutes, however, were further liberalized in this period to protect the widow's dower and the real estate of married women separated from their husbands

4. Montpelier *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, July 10, 1851.

5. "A Breeze upon the Bloomers," "Propriety" to *Watchman*, July 24, 1851.

6. *Register*, November 2, 1853.

7. "Quilp" to *Rutland Herald*, September 29, 1854.

8. *Rutland Herald*, July 29, 1858.

9. The committee to which the petition was referred, reported a bill without comment (H288). It was voted to dismiss the bill. *Journal of the House* . . . October Session 1858 (Montpelier, 1858), pp. 355-56. *Editor*.

and to permit savings banks to pay deposits to married women.¹⁰ Mrs. Julia Branch, an elderly widow from outside the state, won considerable notoriety at the Rutland Free Convention for espousing resolutions that marriage enslaves and degrades women, and that woman has the right to determine "when, how often and under what conditions" she shall have children.¹¹

People were too busy maintaining the home front during the Civil War to discuss theoretical rights that did not relate to the Negro. Women's help on the farm and in the shops, their nursing and helping to raise money for the United States Sanitary and Christian Commissions provided a better basis for their later demands.

A few, like a group of Woodstock woolen mill workers who struck against the fourteen hour day, and lecturers such as Anna Dickinson and Kate Field, continued to assert their independence without much notice.¹²

When the last Council of Censors met in 1869 "the woman question" was no further advanced by the agitation of a few reformers than it was a generation earlier. There was only one reason to expect the state to consider the adoption of woman suffrage: the Fifteenth Amendment. Although the antislavery reformers had gradually won the support of the major party, until in Johnson's administration the Vermont delegation in Congress could be counted on to vote with the Radicals, the issue of women's rights had always been divorced from the slavery question. Yet the extreme left wing of the reform movement had refused to make slavery a special issue. It continued to harp on equality and freedom in general and applied these principles to workingmen's rights, land reform, free trade, free religion and freedom of women from the bondage of law and custom. Solid citizens all over the North had approved the statement, written into our fundamental law, that the right to vote "shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." If ignorant, illiterate Southern field hands were now encouraged to vote, why not women? The American Woman Suffrage Association formed in 1869 by the same leaders who campaigned in Vermont the following year, conducted a feminist campaign all over the country with vigor but little success.

10. *Laws of Vermont*, 1855, No. 14; 1858, Nos. 17, 18 and 26.

11. *Rutland Courier*, July 2, 1858.

12. *Woodstock Spirit of the Age*, October 4, 11, 18, 25, 1866; *Burlington Daily Free Press and Times* (hereafter referred to as *Free Press*), January 25, 1870.

Women button-holed Congressmen in Washington, became acquainted with their families, distributed tracts and conducted an enormous correspondence. The drive succeeded in putting woman suffrage into the territorial constitution of Wyoming and in bringing the matter to comparatively close votes in the constitutional conventions of states such as Illinois. A study of the Vermont phase of this campaign reveals much about contemporary marriage and morals and the place of women in business and public affairs.

On June 2, 1869, the day the Council of Censors convened at Montpelier, Jasper Rand of St. Albans introduced a resolution that the Committee on the Powers of the Constitution consider a constitutional amendment "to extend the right of suffrage to all citizens of this State without regard to sex."¹³ The subject was referred to a special committee of three: Rand, Charles Reed of Montpelier, the State Librarian, and H. Henry Powers, the youngest member of the Council, from Morrisville.¹⁴

When this committee reported favorably in July the arguments advanced were those most commonly used throughout the campaign. The equality of mankind, the consent of the governed, representation for the taxed, the rights of life, liberty and property, apply to women as well as men. Women have the qualifications to vote; they can understand the effect of measures; they will purify politics without contaminating themselves. "Custom and prejudice alone stand in the way." Men once worked outdoors "and women remained the humble slaves at home."¹⁵ Now women share with men all kinds of activity except government. Surely household affairs will not suffer any more than a man's business does because of political activity. Women have no voice in public educational policy yet they are the first teachers of children and many teach in the common schools. They can vote in a corporation if they own stock. They should be able to control their own property and enter any profession. They need the ballot to protect their rights, just as the Negro does. "We believe," the Committee concluded, after reference to such advocates as John Stuart Mill, Henry Ward Beecher and George W. Curtis, "that woman, married or unmarried, was made to be the companion of man, and not his mere servant."¹⁶

The opposition was quick to the attack. Charles C. Dewey of Rutland offered a resolution to amend the militia training section of the

13. *Journal of the Council of Censors* (Montpelier, 1869), p. 6.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

constitution to include women. Rand retorted that this was introduced only to ridicule woman suffrage. There is no necessary connection between fighting and voting, he said. "Quakers do not fight, yet they vote."¹⁷ This notion is a remnant of feudalism, when landholding was considered a requirement for political activity. Women do serve in war as nurses. Dewey continued to lead the opposition. His later speech against woman suffrage was published as a pamphlet. After being adopted as a proposed amendment and twice reconsidered, woman suffrage was left to the decision of the next year's constitutional convention. This action did not mean that the Censors approved of the measure itself for several of them voted against it in the Constitutional Convention of 1870. They felt that if the proposal had a following the delegates chosen by the people should have the final say. The Censors rejected as inexpedient a proposal for a literacy test for voters.

The meetings of the Council of Censors had extended until the latter part of October when the Legislature was in session. The general opinion of the press was unfavorable to their actions.¹⁸ They had suggested besides woman suffrage changes in the corporation law, biennial sessions and elections, the appointment instead of election of judges and the end of the existing method of amending the state constitution. Of the twelve men who proposed these changes six were experienced lawyers and two were soon after elevated to the Vermont Supreme Court. They had been chosen without regard for party and had reached their conclusions according to their best insights instead of public opinion. All their recommendations were eventually adopted in some form.

Advocates of woman suffrage planned a thorough canvass of the state beginning in January, 1870, and focussed on the May elections of delegates to the Constitutional Convention. Thomas Wentworth Higginson in the *Womans Journal* at the start of the campaign announced that the door had been unlatched by the Council of Censors. He urged that strong efforts be made to secure widespread discussion before the issue came to popular vote although he did not expect success "this time." In a sense there was to be a popular vote, for public debate made this issue paramount in the elections of delegates.¹⁹ A Barnard correspondent reported to the *New York World* that woman suffrage had "few advocates, but Vermont is the place to try the experiment, and I hope it will be tried."²⁰ With relatively equal distribution of

17. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

18. *Free Press*, January 20, 1870.

19. *Free Press*, January 20, March 29, 1870.

20. *Woodstock Spirit of the Age*, January 29, 1870.

wealth, no city political machines and a literate, churchgoing, homogeneous population, Vermont would encounter few difficulties from woman suffrage.²¹

A team of a dozen speakers toured the state. Among them were Mary Ashton Rice Livermore, editor of the Boston *Womans Journal* and wife of a prominent Universalist minister, Lucy Stone Blackwell and her husband, Julia Ward Howe, well known for her "Battle Hymn of the Republic," and the old warhorse of antislavery battles, William Lloyd Garrison. They addressed conventions at Montpelier, Rutland and other large towns and organized the Vermont Woman Suffrage Association. This organization scheduled meetings in nearly every village and circulated petitions. The reformers persuaded respectable citizens like Russell S. Taft in Burlington; Seneca M. Dorr in Rutland, somewhat tarred with radicalism but a substantial businessman; William G. Walker, Baptist minister of St. Albans; and Charles Reed in Montpelier to preside at their important meetings. Dollar subscriptions to the *Womans Journal* were taken, which included membership in the Association. The Hutchinson family, old friends of Vermont radicals, sang at conventions at Montpelier and Burlington. "Unite, unite, and battle for the Right" and other songs livened the proceedings. Their leader looked "like the Moses of the Sunday School books."²²

A few newspapers supported the reform: the Montpelier *Green Mountain Freeman*, the Montpelier *Vermont Christian Repository*, the Brattleboro *Phoenix*, the Rutland *Herald* and the St. Albans *Messenger*.²³ The *Freeman* was edited by Congressman Charles W. Willard, "the leading and ablest advocate of woman suffrage in Vermont," and a member of the Executive Committee of the Association.²⁴ The other members of the Committee were Charles Reed, Newman Weeks, Rutland spiritualist and innkeeper, James Hutchinson, Jr., George H. Bigelow of Burlington, Jonathan Ross and James S. Peck.²⁵ Henry Clark, editor of the *Herald*, was Secretary of the Suffrage Association. The Reverend Addison Brown of the *Phoenix* had favored the reform for some time and Albert Clarke of the *Messenger* campaigned actively. Letters to the editor poured in to all papers and the editorial columns were filled in support of one side or the other.

The opposition editors' strategy, at its best, was to print everything

21. *Free Press*, January 20, 1870.

22. *Free Press*, February 3, 4, 1870.

23. *Free Press*, January 20, 1870.

24. *Free Press*, May 7, 1870.

25. Windsor *Vermont Chronicle*, January 29, 1870.

pro and con, assume the attitude of patient politeness and even admit that *some day* women might vote. Women, however, had not asked for the suffrage; such a revolutionary change should not be forced upon them by "any outside set of self-constituted spokesmen. . . ." ²⁶

While seeming to be impartial, the papers missed few chances for lefthanded compliments. The reporter of the Montpelier convention described Mrs. Ada C. Bowles of Cambridge, Massachusetts, as a youngish, rather good-looking woman dressed in blue, with short curly hair and very good delivery except for "her somewhat singsong, monotonous intonation, and a [repeated] bad gesture . . . [which] looks as though she were trying to nudge somebody." ²⁷ Wherever Mr. Blackwell spoke he received editorial notice as a meek, tedious, disorganized, inferior individual, eclipsed by his wife and winning little applause, who should have kept quiet and let his wife do the talking. Actually he was a successful businessman and an able thinker if not a spectacular orator. His means permitted him to devote all his time to the cause. He helped finance the *Womans Journal* and later edited it without salary. These peculiar people had news value; consequently friend, foe and newspapers were "disappointed to find the speakers so quiet, sensible and ladylike." ²⁸ Any approach to the stereotype of the "women's rights female," such as the appearance of Miss Emma Farrand of Fairfield, with her hair short and parted on one side, was pounced on with glee.

The editorial opposition proceeded to elaborate the onerous duties of political life and implied that if women conscientiously fulfilled them home life would suffer. The ministers took over the argument at this point and harped on the home and the Biblical injunction on women to stay there. On a lower level, they tried to link the movement with free love, atheism and communism.

Speakers had to face practical jokes and disturbances at their meetings. At Montpelier noise in the back of the hall "by a lot of scurvy boys and loaferish young men" delayed proceedings. ²⁹ Mrs. Elizabeth T. Churchill of Providence, Rhode Island, who concentrated on Chittenden County, was driven out of a church not far from Burlington when some one threw red pepper on the stove. It was whispered that Lucy Stone was traveling with a man not her husband, probably because she had previously been known by her maiden name and not as Mrs. Henry

26. *Free Press*, January 20, 1870.

28. *Free Press*, February 3, 1870.

27. *Free Press*, February 3, 1870.

29. *Free Press*, February 4, 1870.

Blackwell.³⁰ The "foreign" delegation was given the silent treatment at Burlington. Taft was the only resident on the platform. Although later sessions won better response, no one came up to speak to the visitors after the first meeting. While the convention was in progress a broadside of coarse doggerel was circulated about the streets and the *Free Press* printed Irish dialect letters poking fun at the movement.³¹ The Reverend O. G. Wheeler of Grand Isle suggested that the only reason young men like Henry Ballard of Burlington espoused the cause was for the adulation of his feminine audiences.³²

The arguments advanced by both sides, repeated endlessly in all forms, centered on the principles referred to by the Special Committee on Woman Suffrage, and on the effect of this reform on other reform movements, the home, religion and the legal and economic status of women.

On the question of taxation without representation and full equality little variation occurred. Lucy Stone and others asked why idiots and lunatics, men of no intelligence of every race, "our foreign population," in fact all male citizens over twenty-one could vote, but not even the best qualified women.³³ These rhetorical questions were either ignored or given the oblique answer that equality already existed in the home — that women were not slaves. Without ever stating it directly many felt that public issues were sufficiently threshed out in the family for the "head" to represent his womenfolk fairly. This line of thought, of course, forgot about the twenty-eight thousand unmarried women and widows³⁴ and the many wives who did not enjoy that ideal state where major decisions were mutually arrived at. In answer to the claim that women neither wanted nor needed to vote Congressman Willard said that they could stay at home as likeminded men had always done while those who had long expressed their desire should be satisfied.

Those who stated that in fact women were not equally equipped to deal with political questions were readily answered. Women can learn what they need to know; colleges should be opened to them. Already a few of the daughters of the upper class were going outside the state for a higher education and the University of Vermont was on the

30. *Free Press*, March 11, 1870.

31. *Free Press*, February 9, 15, March 16, 1870.

32. *Free Press*, March 23, 1870.

33. *Free Press*, February 4, March 31, April 22, 1870.

34. The census of 1870 took no information on marital status. The figure above is based primarily on 1890 percentages projected upon 1870 figures for each age group above twenty.

threshold of admitting women.³⁵ Education follows emancipation, said Garrison, with women as with Negroes.³⁶

Some orators promised the millennium — the end of poverty, disease, crime and, worst of all, intemperance. Woman, a superior being, could cure by the ballot what man could not, chanted Leo Miller, the temperance missionary. Politics can be cleaned up, said Iversohn, a Negro lawyer and graduate of the University of Copenhagen. It need not be full of rum, blasphemy and disorderly meetings. Other speakers claimed that Lucy Stone in Congress would reduce its extravagances; they would rather see Julia Ward Howe in the White House with a babe in arms than Andrew Johnson drunk. A few would want to run for office, said Mrs. Blackwell, and the potential votes of all women would cause better candidates to be nominated. Her husband pointed out that women voted in well-governed Holland. Lucy Place of Hinesburg asserted, “. . . we believe that woman will never, by her vote, advance a bad man or second a bad measure . . . *as such*.” Mrs. Howe was confident that women in politics would promote peace, not war.³⁷

A communication from Jon R. Forest of Winooski, something of a crank on local government reform, castigated elections as then conducted, “where the most disgraceful scenes of excitement, drunkenness and corruption are practiced. . . .” The situation looked hopeless unless “women’s presence would awe the men into decent behavior. . . . Our Prohibitory Liquor Law would hardly have been so much a dead letter . . . these seventeen years had the women enjoyed equal right . . . to enforce it.” Good Templars’ Lodges let women belong, vote and hold office; if good for the temperance cause, why not everywhere? Forest was sure that Bridget would consult her lady employer and not learn the party line from the rum shop, and in the same breath, that woman suffrage would create more independent voters.³⁸

Opponents, recalling the Know Nothing bugaboo, hammered hard on the question of the foreign vote. Let us have the right *not* to vote, wrote one woman to the St. Albans *Messenger*. Many will vote as the

35. Two were graduated in the class of 1875. *General Catalogue of the University of Vermont* . . . 1791-1900, Burlington, 1901, p. 136.

Mary Hosford of Thetford was one of the first four women graduates of the full college course at Oberlin, granted the degree A.B. in 1841. Robert S. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College* . . . 2 v., Oberlin, 1943, pp. 303, 380, 381, 835.

36. *Free Press*, March 11, 1870.

37. *Free Press*, February 3, 4, 12, March 11, April 8, 1870.

38. *Free Press*, March 21, 1870.

men in the family do, "while the foreign masses, in one solid phalanx, will vote according to the instruction of their religious teachers."³⁹ Another, stimulated by Petroleum V. Nasby's Burlington lecture on the woman question, feared that "American women" would not be "an offset to this foreign element," and the result would be an "alarming increase of our foreign vote."⁴⁰

Candidates would be selected for their looks and other characteristics that would attract the feminine vote. Look at the deeds of Bloody Mary, unscrupulous Elizabeth, Mary Stuart and Lucrezia Borgia for examples of women in politics, wrote a Charlotte correspondent.⁴¹ Half the business of government is war; Confederate women certainly did not help make war out of date.⁴²

The average farmer, tradesman or artisan was not then, and never had been concerned over reforms with no obvious relation to his economic welfare. If anything, the emancipation of woman threatened domestic economy and might lead to competition in the labor market. The arguments that echoed his feelings on the subject revolved around woman's place in the home. The orthodox ministers were most outspoken on this subject, as they had helped promote the Victorian ideal of woman's sphere.

William H. Lord, Montpelier Congregational minister, published the first blast in the *Watchman*.⁴³ His text was Ephesians, v, 23 and other Pauline passages. Vermonters do not like to experiment "with . . . fundamental relations of society." In marriage woman is neither peer nor inferior, but man "by the law of Christian civilized society" is the "head" and representative of the unit where both have a voice. To rend this sacred unit and invoke rivalry is reverting to barbarism. To choose the bar, forum, senate, military camp and pulpit — for these are part of the political life — is to renounce motherhood. (Here the Reverend Lord heaped gobs of frosting on Motherhood and tar on the reformers.) "This movement . . . is found often in such low company," which scorns Christian marriage and Biblical authority, and advocates "personal freedom and free love."

Mary Livermore answered this article from the Montpelier platform. We are all happily married women; five of our sisters, native Vermonters, are church members. She called for the editor, Joseph Poland, under the impression that he had written the objectionable

39. *Free Press*, February 9, 1870.

40. *Free Press*, March 10, 1870.

41. *Free Press*, April 27, 1870.

42. *Free Press*, April 14, 1870.

43. Quoted in full in *Free Press*, February 7, 1870.

article. He was present but seeing the audience with the speaker kept a discreet silence to everyone's amusement.⁴⁴

Lord's rejoinder in the *Watchman* to that "termagant," the immodest Mrs. Livermore, bore down on the sex question. No pure woman would have said, as did one speaker at the Montpelier convention, that at least the unmarried mother had the privilege of calling her child her own, which no married woman could do. Did not the *Womans Journal* admit that some strong-minded women hurt the cause by their loose views of divorce? The movement was shot through with infidels opposed to revealed religion and Christian marriage: Octavius B. Frothingham (who had founded the Free Religious Association in 1867) and John Stuart Mill. Mill, "a leading Unitarian and Materialist . . . an atheist so redhot" his name was withdrawn from nomination to Parliament, had said that the slavery of marriage was the only bondage left in the United States.⁴⁵

Others took up the cry. Did not Mrs. Bowles write in the *Womans Journal* that marriage is slavery?⁴⁶ What did Mrs. Livermore mean by saying that the unmarried, the widows and elderly wives have few domestic obligations, and "that married women need not have children unless they chose?"⁴⁷ Woman suffrage means women in the professions resulting in "celibacy with its vices, or . . . marriage with the nameless shames which shall prevent maternity."⁴⁸ The free love of Mary Wollstonecraft and the Oneida Community's communal marriage where no one knew his father were thrown in the faces of the reformers.⁴⁹ Would they have women as members of mixed juries hear all the filthy details of seduction, breach of promise, sex crime and infanticide cases? Those who ask for this are "not fit for the society of any modest woman."⁵⁰

In vain did the proponents protest that marriage and Bible questions were irrelevant. Lord's text from Ephesians was an admonition for early Christian society, explained Congressman Willard. In the very next chapter was the classic reference in defense of slavery — "Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters." As times change, specific advice becomes inapplicable while Christian fundamentals, such as equality, remain. Some feminists professed Christ as their Savior and

44. *Free Press*, February 4, 1870.

45. Quoted in *Free Press*, February 15, 1870.

46. *Free Press*, March 24, 1870.

48. *Free Press*, April 23, 1870.

50. *Free Press*, April 14, 1870.

47. *Free Press*, March 21, 1870.

49. *Free Press*, March 9, 1870.

justified woman suffrage as Christianity in political terms. Others kept quiet for indeed their orthodoxy was questionable. They could not refrain from remarking that divorce was legal in Vermont; that the oneness of man and wife is symbolic for the law recognizes their separate individuality.

There was no common ground between the antagonists on the subject of the legal status of women. One side pointed to the group of laws passed in the late 1840's and 1850's improving woman's position and the other urged that this was but a small step in the right direction. Why shouldn't women say how their money should be spent, their property administered and their children raised? The rejoinder was inevitably that the advocates of change did not know Vermont law.

Vermont laws dealing with women were moderate. Divorce was legal for adultery, intolerable severity, wilful desertion or non-support. The annual average number of divorces per 100,000 population in 1870 was 50 in Vermont, compared to 29 for the United States.⁵¹ In all cases except adultery of the wife she could retain her real estate as if her husband were dead. She was entitled to alimony even in the exception. A married woman could will her real estate. It could not be attached for the sole debts of the husband. In every conveyance of her real estate the wife had to depose independently that she had agreed without fear or compulsion of her husband. He could not alienate or mortgage except for initial purchase the minimum \$500 homestead without her consent. She could continue a legal action only by her husband's joining in the suit; otherwise the defendant could recover costs. She could insure her husband's life and receive payments up to \$300 after his death, free from the claims of his representatives. Guardianship transferred to the husband when either a female minor or guardian married.⁵²

A release of legal restrictions was part of the program of feminist expansion into new occupations. An audience of women applauded Lucy Stone Blackwell for declaring that women wanted to do something besides crochet.⁵³ David Ross Locke (Petroleum Nasby) urged the end of "parlor frivolity [and] . . . cottage ill-paid toil." He went on to assert the right of women to enter any occupation according to

51. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1908 (Washington, 1909), p. 94.

52. The Compiled Statutes of the State of Vermont (Burlington, 1862), Titles 19 (Alienation of real estate), 22 (The Homestead), and 23 (Domestic relations).

53. *Free Press*, February 4, 1870.

their strength and receive wages equivalent to men's for equivalent work. Through the vote women could protect themselves in these occupations.⁵⁴ A correspondent asked what good suffrage would do since the state should not regulate wages. Use women employees and lose trade, he warned.⁵⁵ A well-to-do Vergennes woman wrote that if woman suffrage could lead women to reduce their heavy home responsibilities and dress frills the so-called agitators would have done well. To be a woman meant to her more than "beautiful dependence . . . it means sometimes, hard work and small pay, . . . helpless ignorance, and helpless idleness, it means sometimes lives wasted in frivolity — oftener in Vermont it means lives broken down by over-exertion."⁵⁶

The last organizer had left the state in April. The results of straw votes showed less than a tenth of Vermont women wanting the vote, said the *Free Press* on May 18. Lewis Sanctuary, Hinesburg school committeeman, found 88 out of 92 women over twenty-one in his district opposed.⁵⁷ Newspaper readers finally called for an end to the everlasting argument but the editors did not feel that they should close their columns to discussion until the delegates were chosen.⁵⁸ The *Free Press*, the *Montpelier Watchman*, the *St. Johnsbury Times*, the *Woodstock Standard*, the *Congregational Windsor Vermont Chronicle*, the *Newport Express* and the *Fair Haven Journal* were among the majority of newspapers opposed to any such "mad schemes for social reform."⁵⁹ The *Free Press* printed a petition for "the forty thousand women of Vermont" to sign which summarized the opposition's case:⁶⁰

1. Our duties in the family are equal to but different from men's.
2. Our peculiar function is "all that we can perform to . . . [God's] or our own satisfaction."
3. No benefits result from woman suffrage which we cannot derive from our influence in the family.
4. We would neglect our family duties.
5. Difference in politics in the home would lead to divorce, "since the relation is no longer marriage, but partnership."
6. Prone to excitement, we fear the effects of politics on delicate, pure female character.
7. The scramble for office and female influence in the courts would be demoralizing. Good women would shrink from trying to counteract this evil influence.

54. *Free Press*, February 9, 1870.

56. *Free Press*, March 12, 1870.

58. *Free Press*, March 27, 1870.

60. *Free Press*, April 11, 1870.

55. *Free Press*, May 7, 1870.

57. *Free Press*, April 25, 1870.

59. *Free Press*, April 28, 1870.

8. Men nowadays delay marriage; wanting a peaceful home they would be limited in their choice to a wife of the same party.
9. Woman suffrage would decrease the birthrate through abortion, which is murder "unless the preservation of the mother's life requires it."
10. Woman's participation in public discussion of vices to be reformed would be disastrous to them and morality.
11. Woman suffrage might lead to laws requiring equal wages for unequal work, since female labor is less skilled.

Therefore, vote it down, the petition concluded, although "self-elected, foreign, intermeddling advisers" are trying to tell us what is good for us. As the *Free Press* had said earlier, woman suffrage might be needed in Henry Ward Beecher's Brooklyn, but "our suffrage is pure."⁶¹

The May elections were held on a non-partisan basis in bad weather. In spite of the newspaper furor over woman suffrage and the proposal of five other important changes in state government, the vote was light. St. Albans was played up as a banner town to ridicule the reformers, because Aldis O. Brainerd, the suffrage candidate, received 19 votes before withdrawing.⁶² It was rumored that a few delegates including one or two clergymen went to the Constitutional Convention in June primed with elaborate speeches and petitions.⁶³ But the managers of the Convention wasted no time in debate. Petitions and remonstrances were read by title only, totalling 891 signatures in favor, and 510 against, but the vote on the article was 231 to 1.⁶⁴ The Burlington correspondent of the *Womans Journal* facetiously explained Harvey Howes' lone vote for the amendment as coming from a town almost entirely surrounded by New York State — West Haven. Howes himself took all the responsibility, absolving his constituency.⁶⁵

Could it have been that by playing up the issue of woman suffrage, which never had a chance of success, political leaders and their allies, the newspaper editors, hoped to trail a red herring across the path of critics of the antiquated Vermont corporation law and the elected judiciary, and avoid debate on the controversial issue of annual or biennial sessions? This, at least, was the effect of the woman suffrage campaign.

61. *Free Press*, February 2, 1870.

62. *Free Press*, May 20, 1870.

63. *Free Press*, March 29, June 13, 1870.

64. *Journal of the proceedings of the constitutional convention . . . 1870* (Burlington, 1870); petitions on pp. 34, 35, 36, 40, 43, 44, 49-50; vote on p. 57.

65. *Free Press*, July 9, 12, 1870. Harvey Howes, *A last resort* (Fair Haven, 1870), a pamphlet defending his position and dedicated "to all civilized men and women."

Lobbying for private charters of corporations continued, and Vermont failed to copy New York's amendment of 1869 increasing the independence of the judiciary. On the other hand, reader interest in "the woman question" was high, as the flood of letters to the editor indicates. The newspapers may have been only giving what news their readers demanded.

Vermont was among the later states to extend political rights to women. The 1880 legislature gave women the right to vote in school meetings and to hold school offices.⁶⁶ In 1906 women became eligible for the offices of town clerk, treasurer, trustee of public libraries and town superintendent of schools.⁶⁷ In 1920, with one more state needed to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment, a strong movement urged Governor Clement to call a special session of the legislature for this purpose. He preferred to wait until a regular session, by which time the amendment was a federal law. Fifty-one years after the full dress debate of 1870 Miss Edna L. Beard of Orange was sitting in the House of Representatives and women were given the right to hold office in Vermont.⁶⁸

66. Walter H. Crockett, *Vermont, the Green Mountain State* (5 vols., New York, 1921-23), IV, 115.

67. *Ibid.*, IV, 390.

68. *Ibid.*, IV, 546-8, 558, 563.

JOHN STRONG

A PIONEER OF ADDISON, VERMONT

BY MARY W. ELLIS

JOHN STRONG was one of the many pioneer men who came into Vermont in the early days and by their steadfast perseverance helped to lay the foundations of the state.

In 1761, at the close of the French and Indian War, while the Royal Province of New Hampshire claimed the territory that is now the State of Vermont, the Governor of that Province, Benning Wentworth, granted a charter to the town of Addison on Lake Champlain. The French, by reason of discovery, had previously claimed the territory bordering on the Lake and once had a small settlement in the section. Their houses were doubtless typical of French architecture, one story high with a chimney at one end. When driven from their homes by the conquering English, these French settlers burned their houses leaving only the foundations and chimneys. It was this fact that later gave the name "Chimney Point" to a small Fort built at this place nearly opposite the Lake from Fort Crown Point in New York.

It was to the town of Addison that three men came from Connecticut in the spring of 1765 and began a clearing about three miles north of Chimney Point, which in September they sowed to wheat. They might have heard of the place from Benjamin Kellogg of Connecticut, who was at Crown Point with General Amherst, and often hunted deer in this Vermont territory to supply venison for the officers' table. After the war Mr. Kellogg made it a custom to return each year for deer hunting. In the fall of 1765, he was accompanied on his annual trip by John Strong of Salisbury. They first went to the place where their friends were working, helped them sow their wheat, and then went on an exploring trip, going as far as Middlebury and doubtless were the first English men to explore that section. On their return, with the aid of his companions, John Strong built a house using a foundation and chimney of one of the old French houses. When this was completed the party returned to Connecticut to return the next spring. It was the next February that John Strong brought his family to their

new wilderness home, coming part of the way over the ice on the Lake. Their possessions consisted of a pair of old mares and a sled on which the family rode.

Mrs. Strong was Agnes McCure, daughter of a wealthy land owner in Scotland, who, being implicated in the Rebellion of 1715, had fled to America. He put his property into the hands of a friend rather than have it confiscated, and it yielded rents during his lifetime and then ceased. As both Mr. and Mrs. McCure died a few years after coming to America, their daughter was early used to hardships. She was of a frail constitution but her cheerful nature made her accept privations with courage.

Mr. and Mrs. Strong brought three children to their Vermont home — six-year-old Asa, Samuel and Polly. The following June, John Strong, Jr. was born, the first English child in Addison County, and later Moses and Cyrus were added to the family circle.

The trials of our pioneer ancestors in establishing the homes which we enjoy today are hard for us to comprehend. Added to the natural privations of a home in the wilderness was the savagery of the Indians and the ravages of the wild beasts. We have a few recorded events in the lives of the Strong family.

In September following the establishing of their new home, Mr. Strong with other men who had settled nearby, went to Albany, New York, to get supplies. As evening approached, Mrs. Strong and her children sat in front of the fire-place before eating their supper, which was to consist of samp, already prepared and left in the kettle to cool, and milk which was in a pan. As they sat there Mrs. Strong heard a noise near the door-way and saw the blanket, which served as a door, raised and an old bear and her two cubs entered the room. With her baby in her arms, Mrs. Strong quickly followed the children up a rude ladder that led to the loft, pulling the ladder after them. The floor of the loft was of small poles through which the family watched the proceedings below. After drinking the milk, the old bear took a large mouthful of the samp, even taking a second one, before realizing that it was almost boiling hot. This so angered the bear that she gave a furious growl, knocking over the kettle with her paw, which broke it, and then sat up and tried to poke the samp from her mouth. A cub sat on each side of her as if wondering what it was all about, all of which made such a ludicrous sight that the children overhead burst out with a loud laugh. This seemed to add to the bear's anger and she made many attempts to reach the loft but in vain. Towards morning the bear

family ambled off. When Mr. Strong heard the story upon his return, he immediately built a door to replace the blanket. This door was of slabs split from bass wood and hung with wooden hinges.

It was the Indians who caused the greatest alarm especially after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Although the Indians were supposed to have been conquered, and not to molest the English settlers, it took only the slightest provocation to cause their savage natures to break out. This savageness was so alarming that if the Indians entered the home while the men were away, the women left them alone and let them help themselves to whatever they liked rather than anger their savage nature. It is recorded that Mrs. Strong had a little place between the chimney and the outer wall where she could hide the baby upon alarm of the approach of Indians.

Once Mrs. Strong was alone when a party of Indians entered her house singing war songs with a whoop and dance, after first taking the cream from some milk that was in a crock, rubbing it on their faces and then with soot painting themselves with all the panoply of war paint. Mrs. Strong had a set of pewter dishes, a rare thing at the time, which she kept in a barrel of sour milk to keep them bright. One of these dishes happened to be out one day when the Indians entered the house, and seeing it, one of them punched a hole in it through which he put a string and wore it off as a neck ornament. As they were leaving the house that day, one of the Indians discovered a bright colored gown which Mr. Strong had given his wife for a birthday present. Taking it, the Indian put it on and all left with yells and war whoops.

The people never knew when the Indians would appear or what they would do, for it was nothing unusual for them to kill a choice beef or hog.

Vexatious as were all these trials, it was fear of the scalping knife that most worried them. These fears were not groundless, for one beautiful June morning just at the break of day when the birds were just beginning their songs and the air was filled with the perfumes of breaking day, Mrs. Strong went to a spring near the Lake shore a few rods from her home. As she paused by the shore to enjoy the early morning, she thought she heard the paddle of an oar. Soon a canoe filled with Indians came into sight and from an upright pole attached to the bow was a scalp, while other scalps were hanging from the belts of the men. She thought she recognized the up-right scalp as being from a beautiful child of a friend who lived across the Lake, and wildest horror came over her. News came before night that confirmed her fears

for this family of her friend, six in all, had all been massacred, scalped, and their home burned.

Mr. Strong enlisted in the Army for the Revolutionary War on August 6, 1776, and served both as private and commissary, and on October 10, 1776 received a commission as Captain in Col. Ira Allen's Regiment.

On the morning previous to the taking of Crown Point by General Burgoyne, while their father was in Rutland to see about procuring some beef for the American forces at the Forts, the two oldest Strong sons, Asa and Samuel, started at day-break to hunt for some cattle that had strayed into the woods. While the rest of the family were eating breakfast, a daughter of one of the neighbors rushed in saying — "The Indians are coming, and we are all fleeing. There are bateaux at the Point to take us off and you must hurry." With all her men folks away, Mrs. Strong, none too well anyway, felt that this was more than she could undertake. However, making a supreme effort, she put six-year-old Cyrus into a sack with his head and shoulders out, and fastened him upon Polly's back. Then hurriedly making a bundle of clothes for each child, she started them for the Point, admonishing them not to loiter or wait for her. She soon followed but was so entirely exhausted that she was compelled to sit down by the road side to rest. Before long a man came riding up the trail on horse back at full speed and upon seeing her exclaimed — "Are you crazy? The Indians are in sight. The Lake is covered and the woods are full of them." She replied that she was too weary to proceed farther whereupon the man dismounted, lifted her upon his horse, remounted and drove at full speed to the Point. The last boat, in which were her children, had waited for her as long as they dared, and was just leaving, but returned to put her aboard and that night they reached Whitehall, N.Y.

From this point the refugees scattered, some returning to Connecticut and others seeking refuge in nearby territory. The Strong family must have recrossed the Lake for we next find them on the Vermont side in Dorset. The next day they were joined by Asa and Samuel, who, upon returning to their home towards night, had found the whole settlement in flames, and knew that it was the work of Indians. Thinking that their family had been able to escape, they retraced their steps towards the Otter Creek. They had their gun and ammunition and were able to kill a partridge which they roasted and ate, and continued their wanderings all night, and were fortunate to find their family the next day. They all realized that it was useless to try and find the father

or return home, so they found an unoccupied house, and settled down until they knew what was best to do, each one doing a share to help in their support.

It was only after much time and research that John Strong was able to locate his family. Hearing that Burgoyne had taken Crown Point, he left his cattle at Brandon, and hastened for his home, proceeding very cautiously for fear of the Indians. At one point a demoniacal yell burst out and more than two hundred savages, whooping and swinging their tomahawks, surrounded him. The Indians were in command of a Tory who had heard that Mr. Strong was expected with some cattle, and thus obtained the assistance of this band of Indians to help in intercepting him. "Where are your cattle?" demanded the Tory after quieting the Indians. "Safe," replied Mr. Strong. This reply so angered the Tory that he would have killed Mr. Strong at once but for the intervention of one of the Indians who recognized him. With a thankful heart, Mr. Strong told them that if they would take him to the Fort, he would cheerfully answer what questions he could. Thus, after binding him, he was taken to the Fort and placed in the guard house for the night.

In the morning he was brought before the commanding officer for trial to whom he explained his identity and the uncertain fate of his family. He was allowed a parole until November when the officer would again be at the Fort with the army. Thanking him for his generosity, Mr. Strong remarked as he was leaving — "Colonel, suppose the army never returned. How then?" "Then you are released from all obligations," smilingly replied the officer as he ordered supplies for Mr. Strong's journey home.

Mr. Strong's rejoicing soon turned to grief when he found his home in ashes and no trace of his family. Then began his long search, first to nearby places, and then to Connecticut where he thought he might possibly find them. On his return from this trip, footsore, weary, and discouraged, he stopped one evening at a house in Dorset, Vermont, to ask for a night's lodging. It was just at dusk and a boy answered his knock and ushered him into the kitchen. Soon a lady entered with a pail of milk, saying — "Moses, can't you take the gentleman's hat?" That voice! With one leap and the word "Agnes" on his lips, he sprang towards her, and she with outstretched arms replied — "John! John!" It was a joyous night in that little cabin in Dorset. The war was still raging, and knowing that it was not safe to attempt to return to their old home, the family remained in Dorset until the close of the war.

The Dorset farm on which the Strong family lived belonged to Asa Baldwin, the first town clerk of Dorset, but an ardent Tory. The story is told that once he saddled his finest horse and rode to Saratoga, when Gen. Burgoyne was there, to declare his allegiance. He was graciously entertained over night but in the morning when his horse was brought, it was an old decrepit one. "Surely," said Gen. Burgoyne, "a loyal subject will be glad to give a good horse to the King." However the Council of Safety thought Mr. Baldwin too dangerous a person to be at large so he was arrested and put into prison at Bennington. His wife and two children tried to follow him, only to be told that they could not remain with him, so they went to her folks in New York state. Mr. Baldwin was in jail only a short time, and upon his release he joined his family in her home until the close of the war.

Mr. Strong, as was his nature, entered into the life of Dorset, representing it in the Legislature from 1779 to 1782, serving also as Judge of Bennington County. There is in existence a "Book of Records for Crimenals and Delinquents" that was kept by John Strong while he was Justice of the Peace in Dorset, and this book reveals many practices of those days. Here are a few interesting items —

August 11, 1779 — Peleg Sutherland Convicted of profane Swearing. Fine 12 shillings.

Feb. 4, 1780 — Reuben French Suffred Judgement for Killing a Deer. Fine 30 pounds one half to the Complainer.
on the 26th of June 1780 Weter Gage Confest himself guilty of travelling on the Sabbath or Lord's Day. Foined 3 pounds.

August 18th, 1780 — William Manley Confessed Guilty of making disturbance on the Lordes Day by Laughing. Foin 2 pounds.

In these items there can be traced many of the old blue laws of Connecticut, from which State Mr. Strong came to Vermont.

In 1783, at the close of the war, Mr. Strong, as well as many other exiled inhabitants of Addison, returned to the town after an absence of seven years. A sad sight met their eyes for not a building was standing in the town they had established. With determination they at once started to restore the town, rebuild their homes, and once more take their places in the activities of the State.

Of course Addison had not been represented in the Legislature during the seven years' absence, and thus in 1784 John Strong was sent as their representative and served three years in that capacity. After Addison County was incorporated, John Strong was made first Judge of the County Court, and when the Probate Court was established he

was appointed Probate Judge. The first County Court to be held in Addison County was in 1785 at the Tavern of Zedock Everest, one of the three first persons to enter the town from Connecticut and begin the cultivation of the soil. The next year it was held at the Tavern of Josiah Crane, who had built the first brick house in Addison County, and there the Courts remained until removed to Middlebury. In 1791 John Strong was a member of the Convention that ratified for Vermont the Constitution of the United States.

History does not reveal where John Strong and his family first lived upon returning to Addison, but it does reveal that in 1796 he completed a brick mansion. His very first home, you will remember, was near the Lake, built on a foundation of one of the French houses. The new house was back from the Lake, not however so far back but a glorious view of it could be seen.

When Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, made a trip through northern New England, he visited Mr. Strong in his new home. Mr. Dwight wrote of him — "During the early periods of his residence in this township, availing himself of the market furnished by the British garrison at Crown Point, and the high prices which they gave for everything supplied by his plantation, he became possessed of a very handsome property. In that war he experienced a painful reverse of fortune. — After the peace he returned to Addison, and by various business, industriously and prudently pursued, has raised himself to affluence."

Doubtless the mansion that Mr. Strong built was some time in building for it was built so well that it stands today (1945) in a fine condition after a century and a half. It is recorded that the bricks were made on the place, and it must have taken many when we consider that the walls of the house, the chimneys, and fire-places, one in each room, were all made of brick. Doubtless the timber for the building was all cut and prepared on the place, much of it by hand. The house is two storied and rectangular in shape, with the colonial architecture so much in vogue at that time. In the center of the house is a spacious hall with a broad stair case and ornate banisters. There are rooms on each side of the hall and the stairs lead to similar rooms on the second floor, and all rooms have high ceilings requiring the many fireplaces to heat them. The kitchen has the high fireplace with crane and brick oven where the cooking was done.

It was in this mansion that Mr. Strong spent his last days, and five generations of the Strong family were born beneath its roof. He retired

from public life in 1801 on account of failing health, and for fifteen years must have known the joys of seeing the results of his active service.

Mr. Strong passed away in June 1816, and perhaps no better summary of his life can be found than the inscription on his stone in the Lake View Cemetery in Addison —

The Hon. John Strong born Aug. 1st, 1738 died 10th June A.D. 1816. He emigrated from Salisbury, Conn. in 1766, and was one of the first settlers in the county. He long sustained many important offices, both civil and military, in the State; was a tried friend to his Country in its struggle for independence; a benefactor to mankind, a professor and firm believer in Christian religion.

VERMONTERS

HERBERT EUGENE WALTER, PH.D., SC.D.*

Biologist, Teacher, Author

WIDELY known as an authority on genetics, Dr. Herbert Eugene Walter was professor emeritus of biology at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, at the time of his death on October 1, 1945. In academic and scientific circles — indeed, wherever he was known — he was respected, honored, and trusted.

Dr. Walter was born April 19, 1867, in Burke, Vermont, the younger son of Augustus Porter and Betsey Ann (Brockway) Walter. His father's ancestry, as far as traced, leads back through the following names: Porter and Charlotte C. (Blake) Walter, of Burke, Vermont; Augustus and Abigail W. (Porter) Walter, who came to Burke from Hartford, Connecticut, about 1800; Daniel and Molly (Gleason) Walter, also from Connecticut; and Henry and Lydia (Tuttle) Walter. His mother was the daughter of Willard and Dorothy (Smith) Brockway, of Sutton, Vermont.

Dr. Walter, like his brother Charles, attended Lyndon Institute, then Bates College, where he received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1892. He went on to Brown University, becoming a Master of Arts in 1893, the fourth advanced degree granted in biology at Brown. His thesis dealt with embryology. In 1906 Harvard University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, his thesis being "The Reactions of Planarians to Light." In 1934 Middlebury College made him a Doctor of Science, and in 1939 he was again honored with that degree by his Alma Mater, Bates.

After receiving his Master's degree, he studied for a year, in 1893 and 1894, at the University of Freiburg, Germany, and in 1903 returned there for further study under Professors Wiedersheim, Weismann, and Keibel.

Meanwhile, between 1894 and 1904, up through the period of his second German sojourn, Dr. Walter taught biology in the North

*Notes compiled from his autobiography and other sources by his niece, Miss Dorothy C. Walter.

Division High School and its successor, the Robert A. Waller High School, in Chicago, Illinois. He collaborated with Worrallo Whitney and F. C. Lucas in "Studies of Animal Life" (1900), a laboratory text which was adopted in the Chicago schools. In connection with his regular teaching, he introduced outdoor nature study on a voluntary basis among his pupils. To meet their needs, and also those of teachers, he and his wife brought out in 1901 the first edition of "Wild Birds in City Parks," a manual of bird study, which was many times enlarged and reprinted until its final edition in 1926.

After the Harvard degree in 1906, Dr. Walter became a university professor, but his interest in and influence upon high-school biology did not cease. He served several years with the College Entrance Examination Board, preparing tests in biology and zoology, and also on a survey-committee of the National Education Association, clarifying the teaching of biology in secondary schools. Above all, he communicated his enthusiasm for biology and his interesting methods of instruction to many college students who became high-school or university science teachers.

Dr. Walter came to Brown as assistant professor of comparative anatomy in 1906, was promoted to associate professor of biology in 1913, to full professor in 1923, and formally retired to emeritus rank in 1937, after having given hundreds of university men and women training in biology and seen them establish themselves in useful careers in teaching, medicine, and research throughout the nation and the world.

No account of his work would be adequate that did not note the summers of research or teaching at seaside laboratories: the Marine Biological Laboratory and the United States Fish Commission at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, beginning in 1892; then later, for twenty-three consecutive summers, at the Biological Laboratory of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences at Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y., where he taught field zoology and (1917-1926) was assistant director, serving many years on the board of the Long Island Biological Association, which took over the Laboratory from the Brooklyn Institute in 1923. His one sabbatic leave from Brown was divided between the Oceanographic Institute of the University of California at La Jolla, and a trip to the Hawaiian Islands.

Dr. Walter's best-known writings, "Genetics," 1913, and "Biology of the Vertebrates," 1928, like those already mentioned, grew out of his teaching. Widely known and used in colleges, they were often

reprinted and several times rewritten. Other publications were: "Birds of Androscoggin County, Maine," 1891; "Behavior of the Pond Snail," 1906; "Studies of Inheritance in Rabbits" (with W. E. Castle and others), 1909; "Variations in *Urosalpinx*," 1910; "The Human Skeleton," 1918; "Biology: the Story of Living Things" (with G. W. Hunter and G. W. Hunter III), 1937; "One Innocent Abroad," 1943, a description of his days as a graduate student in Germany in 1893-4; and many other biological papers and articles. His autobiography, written for his family, exists in manuscript.

On August 25, 1896, Dr. Walter married Alice Evangeline, daughter of Dudley P. and Amelia H. (Gregory) Hall, of Lyndon, Vermont, sister of his brother's wife, and a descendant of Deacon John Hall of Dover, New Hampshire, and on her mother's side of Connecticut Hubbards and Talcotts. Mrs. Walter shared her husband's interest in science. She taught bird study a number of years at Cold Spring Harbor. Both Dr. and Mrs. Walter were active in the Audubon Society.

Dr. Walter was a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a member of the American Society of Naturalists, the American Society of Zoologists, the American Genetics Association, the Eugenics Research Association, the Association of University Professors, the American Museum of Natural History, and the American Ornithologists' Union. He was president and later director of the Audubon Society of Rhode Island, and a member of the honorary scholastic society, Phi Beta Kappa, and president of the Brown chapter of Sigma Xi at the time of his retirement.

His career is noteworthy in that he made himself an authority in three fields of biology: ornithology, comparative anatomy, and genetics.

A useful and fortunate life, remembered with affection.

VERMONT BOOKSHELF

ORESTES BROWNSON: YANKEE, RADICAL, CATHOLIC, by Theodore Maynard, N.Y., The Macmillan Co., 1943, xvi and 456 pp.

There now can be little doubt that the revival of popular interest in Orestes Augustus Brownson (1803-1876) dates from the publication of Mr. Van Wyck Brooks's *The Flowering of New England* (1936). Here, in three lively pages, the great Orestes returns to life after almost forty years of the "official" oblivion to which his son Henry's unorganized three-volume biography had left him at the turn of the century. Brownson had by no means been forgotten by Catholic scholars; nor had his fame as an editor and publicist been altogether neglected by close students of American periodical literature. *The Dictionary of American Biography* had given him a decent but undistinguished obituary, and *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, a few words of passing mention. The lesser literary histories, however, had lapsed into an ominous silence. Even Professor Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* had merely named Brownson as one of a "handful of New England idealists" — a label that would have brought forth a characteristic roar of protest from the "Lion" himself. Here in Brownson's native state the editors of *Vermont Biographies* surely must have felt more than justified by this conspiracy of silence when they excluded from their excellent little book the only Vermonter, if we except President James Marsh, with a claim to a place in the pantheon of the Transcendentalists.

Since 1936 we have had four or five notable articles about Brownson's social and political philosophy in journals as reputable and as various in viewpoint as *Science and Society*, and the *Review of Politics*. There is also a sympathetic chapter on Brownson and his friend, Father Hecker, in Prof. Ralph H. Gabriel's *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (1940). And now with the appearance of Dr. Theodore Maynard's *Orestes Brownson* (dedicated fittingly to Mr. Brooks), we have three full-length biographies, including *Orestes Brownson: A Pilgrim's Progress* (1939) by Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and *Granite for God's House* (1941) by Doran Whalen.

Of these three biographies Dr. Maynard's is certainly the best, partly because the author was able to capitalize on the virtues as well as on the defects of the other two, partly because he was exceptionally well qualified for his task. In the first place, he is a veteran biographer with an urbane style, appropriately salted with touches of Brownsonian bluntness. He is, moreover, now thoroughly at home both in the Catholic and in the American traditions, although he was born in India of Protestant parentage. Best of all, as he himself modestly states, his own spiritual vicissitudes furnish an almost perfect parallel to the religious wanderings of Brownson.

No previous reviewer has noted that for a short time Dr. Maynard himself was a resident of Vermont and knew at first hand, as minister to a small Congregational flock, the goodly heritage which, in Mr. Brooks's memorable phrase, made Brownson "too Yankee for the Catholics." Unfortunately neither Dr. Maynard nor any other student of Brownson can ever adequately measure the influence of his Vermont years. Born in Stockbridge, Vt., on September 16, 1803, and brought up in Royalton from his sixth to his fourteenth year, Brownson remembered his boyhood days as among the happiest of his life. It is a pity that his remembrances, as recorded in *The Convert*, are seen chiefly through the haze of adult preoccupation with theological controversy. These were the years in which his body was hardened by the stern discipline of farm labor, and his rugged individualism nursed in the living tradition of "Freedom and Unity." Brownson paid affectionate tribute to the foster-parents who taught him the Way, if not the Truth, during his sojourn in Royalton, but neither he nor any of his biographers identifies these good people by name. In *The Convert* Brownson also acknowledged his spiritual debt to the pious Congregational lady who warned him against the "New Lights," thus preventing him, he implied, from "ever being a thorough-going Protestant." He evidently had no playmates, no memory of boyish pranks, little recollection of the innocent pleasures of country life. His chief diversion consisted in reading by the light of the pine-knots authors as profound as Jonathan Edwards and Locke. Dr. Maynard expresses natural astonishment at the number and quality of the books this precocious young citizen of Royalton was able to find in what was then but a frontier town.

After the Universalist Association at the General Convention in Hartland, Vt., granted Brownson a license as a preacher, he occupied pulpits in Windsor and Windham counties. Following Brownson's own example in his memoirs, Dr. Maynard gives no details about this

brief ministry, which took the young preacher across the border to what is now Whitehall, N.Y. Dr. Maynard takes no occasion to mention the commencement address delivered by Brownson at the University of Vermont in the summer of 1843. Nor does he find it necessary to speak of Brownson's brief correspondence with President Wheeler and Bishop Hopkins on theological topics. There is also no reference to the honorary LL.D. degree conferred upon Brownson by Norwich University, an honor ante-dating his reception of the first honorary degree given by St. John's College, Fordham, in 1850.

As the years advanced and Brownson was drawn deeper and deeper into the maelstrom of political and theological controversy, he left New England for New York City and New Jersey just as earlier he had left Vermont and New Hampshire to join forces with the Boston Unitarians and the Transcendentalists. He always retained, nevertheless, a healthy respect for the New England Puritan and recalled his erstwhile friends as "social, kind-hearted, and charitable," not as a "set of gloomy fanatics." Perhaps boyhood memories as well as the experience of adult years made him write of New England in his *Review* for January, 1862: "Liberty, when retired from all the rest of the Union, will still find a home on her green mountains, amid her granite hills, in her smiling valleys."

Brownson travelled a long and strange road for a Vermonter of his day. He became truly a citizen of the world of thought, admired and respected by European philosophers of all nations, acclaimed by men as different as Cardinal Newman and Victor Cousin, after he had been repudiated for "going over to Rome" by the Emersons and the Parkers. But both admirers and enemies recognized in this great philosopher and controversialist, as he continued devoutly to cling to his uneasy seat in the Bark of St. Peter, those Yankee traits which he himself so well described in his portrait of the typical Vermonter: "personally independent, generally free from snobbishness, no slave to public opinion, and for the most part (with) the courage of his convictions."

The book has a good index, but what evil counsellor persuaded Dr. Maynard to put his informative and often brilliant footnotes at the end of each chapter?

JEREMIAH K. DURICK

St. Michael's College
Winooski Park, Vermont

THE ADMIRAL by Laurin Hall Healy and Luis Kutner. New York, Ziff-Davis, 1944; pp. 338. \$3.50.

The launching of this newest life of George Dewey is attended by impressive sponsors. Josephus Daniels contributes a Foreword; Captain Leland P. Lovette, a Preface; and George Goodwin Dewey, the son of the Admiral, an Introduction. At the end of the volume, like a long Homeward Bound pennant, there flies an extended bibliography which includes such entries as "The Education of Henry Adams" and "A Navy Flier's Creed" from the *Saturday Evening Post* of 27 August 1943. Included, too, are all the standard secondary works on the history of the United States Navy. There are Bennett, and Knox, and the Sprouts.

Using such traditional aids to navigation the authors have plotted a course through familiar waters. On their cruise they have been guided, as Captain Lovette remarks, by "family papers and correspondence hitherto unavailable to historians" as well as by private letters and papers of friends and Dewey's staff officers. The historian will perhaps wish that this fresh evidence had been more carefully charted in the footnotes, while the casual passenger will be saddened that it did not reveal more startling changes in the well known coastline of the narrative.

For, regrettably, the truth is that without Manila and its aftermath the Admiral remains a strangely prosaic figure. This is not to withhold, as unkind critics have done in the past, just praise for the firmness and professional capacities displayed by Dewey in the Philippines, nor yet to suggest that he alone is wholly responsible for the neutral tones in which his professional career is painted. The routines of naval life seldom make enlivening reading and Dewey, before 1898, whether cruising in southern waters, inspecting lighthouses, or serving as Chief of the Bureau of Equipment was content to perform, albeit competently, routines. And after the war despite the praiseworthy efforts of his followers to build him up as a naval statesman, the melancholy fact remains that he had to practice his statesmanship as President of a board more distinguished for its membership than its influence. It is customary, when naval officers foregather to survey the administrative meaning of the General Board, to describe the distinction Admiral Dewey gave to it as President, rather than to recall the extended list of its recommendations which succeeding Secretaries and high ranking naval officers have politely, and sometimes not even very politely, brushed aside.

So the defect of dullness lies not exclusively with the Admiral who performed his work with diligence, nor, in the work under review, with the authors who pursue his activities with what spirit is permitted to the chroniclers of naval careers. But what of Manila? Here indeed the Admiral acted, both during the battle and afterwards, with that calmness under stress, courage, and decision which are the indispensable qualities of success in his calling. But, as traditionally reported, that engagement presents few problems or subtleties upon which the tactical imagination is permitted to speculate, and the authors have done little to alter the traditional reports. It was rather in the careful preparations for battle that Dewey most clearly demonstrated his instinct for high command, and in the diplomatic negotiations following the victory that he revealed his firmness. These are adequately described by the authors, again without dislocations, in the accepted descriptions.

In the aftermath of Manila Messrs Healy and Kutner find their richest vein. How there was piled upon the hero all the traditional testimonials of American hero worship — keys to cities, diamond studded swords, a loving cup beaten from the dimes of school children, the house, and the suggestion that the presidency was within his grasp and capacity — all this is told with zest and pace. And that melancholy anti-climax when the worship was withdrawn leaving only the stranded and bewildered man and his sorrowing wife — this, too, is well told. It is a peculiarly American tragedy and, for anyone unfamiliar with it and interested in examining the mechanics of hero-worship or the strange incongruities of the naval career, it is a story worth reading.

ELTING E. MORISON

Peterborough, N.H.

EVER NEW ENGLAND. Photographs by Samuel Chamberlain, Introduction by Donald Moffat. New York, Hastings House, 1944.

During a broadcast the other day my interlocutor asked "How can we know that an old house is good architecture?" My reply advised a study of some of Samuel Chamberlain's picture books of old New England architecture. On returning home I found a request from the Vermont Historical Society to review Mr. Chamberlain's recent book which suggests quick work by the Society's Editor!

It would be true to say that this book is another of Mr. Chamberlain's collections of beautiful photographs but it is more than that; it shows the essence of New England, past and present, more clearly than any printed words. The pictures are technically good photography and

are skilfully organized, as usual in his books. They range from ancient houses of Old Salem to the modernity of Hartford's Civic Center, from Maine lobster pots to Vermont sawmill, from sparkling winter in Massachusetts to drowsy summer in an old Rhode Island village. The juxtaposition of an abandoned Vermont limekiln (not a "blast furnace" as the title says) with the exotic beauty of Yale's Harkness Memorial is as revealing as it is startling.

Mr. Moffat feels that his Introduction is not needed. I do not agree. I feel that his penetrating comments will be helpful to those who find our people puzzling. Even if you are a Yankee the Introduction should be read, and thoughtfully. It could make those odd Americans from west of the Hudson River more comprehensible.

HERBERT WHEATON CONGDON

Arlington, Vermont

LOCAL HISTORY: HOW TO GATHER IT, WRITE IT, AND PUBLISH IT.

By Donald Dean Parker. Revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson. New York: The Social Science Research Council, 1944; pp. xiv, 186. \$1.00.

This is an unpretending, but very useful and informative book, and constitutes a valuable repository of counsel for the amateur local historian. It is not meant for the trained scholar, but is frankly aimed to "give to the individual of intelligence, with more than average educational advantages, the necessary information for gathering, writing, and publishing the history of his own community. . . . If the local history of the United States is to be written at all, it will have to be done by an interested, if amateur, citizen or group of citizens in each community" (p. xi).

These amateur writers are given every encouragement to induce them to undertake this work and are furnished explicit directions how to proceed, but at the same time they are warned of difficulties and pitfalls. In view of the fact that New England alone already has over 1100 published county and town histories, it would seem that encouragement is less needed than advice. The reviewer has been impressed by the large number of local histories written by resident clergymen, editors, or other interested but uninstructed persons, who have strung together a collection of local traditions, family histories, and genealogical details, but have failed to give a clear picture of the growth

and development of the community. For such the book will be a boon. The reward for such work must be found in the joy of research and writing, which, as the authors point out, is ample compensation. No one ever got rich, and few have achieved a reputation, from a local history. But "the fun of it is simply enormous, and when once you get going it chases cross-word puzzles, the various football competitions and, dare I say it? bridge as well off the field" (p. xii).

The book is divided into three parts. The first, concerned with gathering material, lists and tells where to find such sources as published works, maps, diaries, old letters, account books, newspapers and periodicals, school and town and church and other public records. The second part deals with the work of taking notes, organizing them, and the final task of welding these into a clear and interesting narrative. Many excellent suggestions both as to method and style are made and, for good measure, a model outline for a local history is given. The last part describes the various means of publishing a local history and tells how to obtain community co-operation. Finally, an Appendix, on writing the war history of communities, completes the survey.

Although Professor Parker is listed as the author of this book, published for the Committee on Guide for Study of Local History by the Social Science Research Council, it is in fact a co-operative work. The original manuscript was prepared by Professor Parker, but was revised by a committee of the Council and was edited by Miss Josephson, who also contributed three and a half chapters. Dr. R. H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania redrafted the chapter on a model history and Dr. L. J. Cappon of the University of Virginia prepared the Appendix.

The book should be required reading for all intending local historians.

ERNEST L. BOGART

New York, N.Y.

THE STORY OF A COUNTRY MEDICAL COLLEGE. By Frederick Clayton Waite, Montpelier, Vermont: Vermont Historical Society, 1945, 213 pp. \$4.50.

This medical college, founded in 1827 as the Clinical School of Medicine, in Woodstock, Vermont, was in many ways typical of the country medical schools that flourished sporadically in New England and elsewhere during the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century. With meticulous care the author has traced the complete history of the insti-

tution through its four eras: founding and preliminary phase, 1827-29; affiliation with Waterville College in Maine, 1830-32; affiliation with Middlebury College in Vermont, 1833-38; and the independent era (Vermont Medical College), 1838-56.

The founder of this rural institution was Joseph Adams Gallup, a Dartmouth medical graduate of 1798 and an active figure in Vermont medical affairs. He was president of the Vermont State Medical Society 1818-29 and taught in both Castleton Medical Academy and the University of Vermont Medical School (both country schools) before his own venture in founding a school of medicine.

Doctor Gallup was an ardent believer in bedside instruction for medical students. The infirmary which he established in Woodstock in 1827 was probably insignificant in comparison with some of the city hospitals and clinics of the day, but it marked its founder as more than an ordinary country doctor. The institution distinguished itself in 1842 by being one of the first American medical colleges to offer physical diagnosis instruction in terms of auscultation and percussion.

Although Dr. Gallup's school followed in general the commonly accepted low educational standards of the times, it did attract a considerable number of superior teachers, some of whom introduced advanced teaching methods. The period of the college's greatest service was during the independent era. Half of the seventeen professors who occupied chairs from 1836 to 1854 are regarded by Doctor Waite as eminent medical teachers of the nineteenth century; Elisha Bartlett, Henry H. Childs, Alonzo Clark, Chester Dewey, Frank H. Hamilton, Gilman Kimball, Edward M. Moor, Willard Parker, and Robert Watts.

The College fell a victim of the growing mid-century belief that adequate fresh anatomical specimens should be available for dissection and that extensive clinical facilities should be a part of a medical school. Woodstock, like other country communities, could not furnish these necessities. Hence Vermont Medical College came to a struggling end in 1856.

In spite of the fact that this volume contains some wearisome minutiae, it will be prized by all students of medical history and investigators of the American social scene in the first half of the past century.

WM. FREDERICK NORWOOD

College of Medical Evangelists
Los Angeles

COUNTRY MOUSE by Louise Andrews Kent. Boston, Houghton, 1945; pp. 246. \$2.00.

If city people ever needed any encouragement to come to Vermont for the summer, Mrs. Kent's latest book might well provide that encouragement. *Country Mouse* is the story of an unlikely collection of people gathered together at an Institute for Arts and Letters during a wartime summer. This amazing venture, instigated, of course, by Mrs. Appleyard (whose "Year" was related by Mrs. Kent in an earlier book) is held at Roland Hill, the ancestral home of young Nancy Roland for the benefit of the Red Cross, the poor and worthy artists, and Nancy, who is supporting herself while her father works in the French underground. How anyone could be financially benefited by the affair is the only mystery in the book which is never solved, but since the tale is all a dainty castle in the air, the reality of an economic system doesn't really matter.

What does matter is the light but intricate plot of mystery, love, and intrigue embroidered with the turbulent temperaments of the French cook and the various artists, writers, and musicians, the beautiful and predatory Lady Finchfallow, a reverse Lend Lease refugee, and a bevy of romances which flourish despite the manpower shortage. The resulting confection is as airy as French pastry and as tempting to the middle-aged. Mrs. Kent's rose-tinted glasses transform Vermont into an idyllic combination of mountains, misty syringa-scented mornings, home-grown food, and moonlit country dances. The war, by the same process, becomes a matter of gasoline rationing, V-mail, and handsome soldiers on furlough.

Life at Roland Hill is not unadulterated sweetness and light, however, for the happenings there are commented upon with a quick, neat humor. Any pretentiousness is deflated gently, and the problems of flypaper and collections of snakes are duly reported. Mrs. Appleyard, particularly, is surrounded by dogs who "lick runs in her imitation stockings" and daughters with no parental illusions. At the end of a dreary city day nothing could be better than a box of Schrafft's and a copy of *Country Mouse*.

CYNTHIA NICHOLSON

Plainfield, Vt.

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